

an analysis of the data themselves, viewed in the context of the psycho-socio-cultural whole in inter-relationship with other such wholes, in the framework of a pluralistic world order. That he will aim at focusing the main administrative problems, in the light of the objectives, integratively within the context of the culture, viewed in the setting of its total environment. And that he will try to clarify the issues and offer suggestions as to how objectives may be implemented through existing mechanisms, through the revival of ancient mechanisms, or through the devising of new mechanisms and their integration with the existing structure, in order to help the members of the social group itself, with the assistance of the administrative personnel, *work out their own problems*<sup>7</sup>

The major field of the applied anthropology of the future thus conceived, with its implications in regard to democratic social planning toward

world peace and humanity-liberating goals, offers one of the greatest challenges to creative, cooperative effort in the social sciences today. It presents a little-explored problem of crucial significance in the modern world as the interrelationships between the social sciences, the biological sciences, and the physical sciences rapidly unfold; and as the method of planning on the basis of prediction through internal evidence promises to develop into an epoch-making tool. Expansion of anthropological training and endeavor toward exploring and systematizing this field will, I believe, not only increase the usefulness of anthropologists in the modern world, but it will accelerate the development of science through increased, systematic cross-fertilization with other sciences, and through its imperative demand for the formulation and refinement of adequate working hypotheses and methods, and for the constant testing of their validity by practical application and actual demonstration.

#### INTERACTIONS IN A COLLEGE FRATERNITY

By

W. M. Jackson

Editor's Note: This article was written as a term paper by Mr. W. M. Jackson for a course given by Professor William F. Whyte at the University of Oklahoma. Professor Whyte felt that the situation described by Mr. Jackson was of sufficient interest to warrant the paper's being published substantially as it was written, and in that the editor concurred.

This is a study of a group of boys known as the Alpha Alpha Fraternity of which I am a member. The boys are all college boys and their average age is 20. To keep peace in the family, I have made up a fictitious name for the fraternity and the boys in it. There are approximately 40 boys in the fraternity, about half being members and half being pledges. All the formal elective offices of the fraternity are unimportant except the presidency. All these less important offices, which are secretary, treasurer, and vice-president, are merely jobs of routine matters such as keeping records or taking part in the ritual and they are filled by men who have been in the house the longest. The holders of these jobs are merely elected out of courtesy as a show of respect for their seniority. There are also some im-

portant offices which are appointed by the president, namely, athletic manager, song leader, scholarship chairman, social chairman, and pledgemaster. These officers along with the president are the ones who get things done in the fraternity and if they fail, the fraternity fails.

In this study I have determined who the leaders are and through what channels action must go to be carried out successfully. For this study, a leader is regarded as one who originates action and not necessarily the loudest mouthed, the biggest or the one who makes the best grades.

During my life in the fraternity house I have observed that some activities are carried out successfully all the time and that others are carried out successfully part of the time and fail completely

<sup>7</sup> I am attempting to develop this viewpoint in "The Hopi Crisis," a forthcoming study of the administrative problems of the Hopi Indians, based on "The Hopi Way," by L. Thompson and A. Joseph, Haskell Institute (Sales Agent: University of Chicago Press), 1944.

at other times. My problem has been to find out why everything does not run smoothly all the time instead of just in spurts. In studying this problem I have found that there is only one person in the house who can originate action for the whole group and get everyone to follow him. This person is the president of the fraternity. However, I have also discovered that the action which he originates for the group as a whole has nearly always been previously suggested to him by one of the officers which he appointed and also by one of four others who are not active members of the fraternity, namely, the three honorary members, which are the housemother, the cook, and the housekeeper, and the fourth member who is the alumni advisor of this chapter.

I observed that all matters of any importance were first originated from any one of the following: president, athletic manager, song leader, scholarship chairman, social chairman, pledgemaster, housemother, cook, housekeeper, and the alumni advisor. When any one of these leaders besides the president tried to originate action for the fraternity as a whole by suggesting the action to them directly they were never successful. They might get cooperation from two or three but the group as a whole would not cooperate. Following is a more detailed discussion of the various leaders and incidents involving them:

**George -president:**

George is the one who must originate action before the group as a whole will act but the greater portion of his actions have been suggested to him by some of the leaders of the divisions in the fraternity. He is a quiet boy who never loses his temper or gets excited and he takes much interest in the fraternity. He tries to participate in all events, not being outstanding in any one activity, but pretty good in all of them. He always has a smile for everyone, is a good dancer, good athlete, good singer and good scholar. He has been a member for 2 years and all the boys in the house respect his judgment. George was unanimously elected by acclamation as president of the house and as far as I know he doesn't have an enemy in the house. He seldom originates action for the house which hasn't previously been suggested to him but when he does it is usually successful. For example, he announced one night at dinner to the whole group, "Mr. McDonald, the pastor of the Christian Church in Oklahoma City, is going to give a talk at the Methodist Church tonight and since he is an AA, I would like to see a lot of you fellows turn out for his talk and get to meet him be-

cause he really is a swell fellow." If you've ever met any college boys, you'll know that they aren't any too enthusiastic about listening to a preacher at any time especially when they could be having a date with a girl, but nevertheless, there was a large turnout of AA's for the speech. This is a typical example of the faith the boys placed in George's judgment.

At this point I want to explain how most of the action is originated for the group. After each meal before we leave the table is the time for any announcements to be made, since that is the only time when all the boys are together in a group. Any one who wishes to make an announcement taps on his glass for attention and then stands up and says what he has to say.

Another matter which should be explained is that every Wednesday night is guest night when any of the boys may bring over their friends, teachers, or some boy they would like to pledge. Wednesday night everybody is supposed to be on their best behavior.

**Mrs. Wilson-housemother:**

Mrs. Wilson is the housemother and has been with this chapter of AA for 14 years. She is well liked by all the boys and everyone who meets her. Having been with the fraternity for so long, her judgment is respected and she takes advantage of this fact to suggest things to the president, George. The president sits at her right at all meals and thus if he forgets to make some announcement she has suggested she is always there to remind him. She keeps up a constant flow of conversation with everyone but when talking to anyone besides the president she never tries to originate action for them but always works through the president. She nearly always suggests things to the president at the table or in her reception room when there are only two or three other boys around. On one occasion at the dinner table she said, "George, I think the boys are getting lax in their table manners. I wish you would call a house meeting for 7 o'clock in the sun porch and I will explain to them the proper procedure at the dinner table." George made the announcement and her suggestion was carried out. This example is typical of many others, and all in all she has a big influence on the fraternity. Another instance which illustrates the leadership of Mrs. Wilson is the section of the seats the AA group occupies at basketball games. Many of the boys had rather sit on the 1st floor behind the O.U. bench so as to observe the talk which goes on among the players and coach on the O.U.

bench. The night of the 1st basketball game George, Jack and Bob came to the game with Mrs. Wilson and when they came in Bob said, "Let's sit over behind the O.U. bench so we can hear Drake give his boys instructions." Jack said, "Okay." Mrs. Wilson said, "Oh, no. George, let's sit upstairs in the middle section because it's too crowded downstairs." They went upstairs and when the other fellows came in, they saw Mrs. Wilson and George upstairs and went up there too. At every other game this became the AA section with no questions asked.

**Robert Owens** -alumni advisor:

Robert is the alumni advisor and he lives in Oklahoma City. He keeps in touch with George and often comes down to visit the fraternity and always sits at the table with George. He was the key man in getting our "summer rush" program started. George told him, "Because of the war so many of our boys have been drafted that I don't know whether to try to keep the house open this summer or not." Robert replied, "I think that you should carry on a big rush program for the summer term and try to pledge enough new men to keep the house open. I will contact all the high school boys in the City that I know are coming to O.U. and try to help you out." After dinner Robert and George went off together, making plans for a rush program and three days later George announced, "We are going to start an extensive rush campaign and I would like to see how many can get cars and gas to make rush trips to the important towns over the state." Much interest was shown and successful rush trips were carried out. I am sure that this rush program was the result of George's talk with Robert because previous to Robert's visit, George had been worried about not knowing what to do to keep the house going. Since a certain number of boys are necessary to pay all the bills, it was an important question and George wanted the advice of the older and experienced Robert. Mrs. Wilson gave no opinion in the matter.

**Will**-social chairman:

Will was appointed social chairman because of his wide acquaintances in the various sororities on the campus. The job of the social chairman is to see that all the boys have dates on week ends and to think up ideas for parties and dances. George and Will were very good friends and often double-dated. Will always spoke to George about a party or dance and they worked out the plans together. Then George would announce to the group what he and Will decided and the plans were always carried

out successfully by the group. For example, Will said, "George, I think now is a good time to throw a little informal dance to keep the spirit of the boys up." George replied, "How about a week from Saturday?" and Will said, "That'll be fine." They worked out the details and George made the announcement at the table. This dance went off very successfully as every other social activity did. Will always discussed plans with George and George always presented them to the group.

**Mrs. White**-housekeeper:

Mrs. White is the housekeeper and does such things as make the beds, sweep the downstairs rugs and clean the halls. She never tries to originate action for the boys except through George. She speaks to George whenever some of the boys are unusually messy such as sweeping their trash out in the hall or having a pillow fight and getting feathers all over the sleeping porch, and George sees that her wishes are carried out. For example, Mrs. White said to George, "This morning when I went in to make up the beds there were feathers all over the sleeping porch and all the quilts were on the floor. I want you to have that fighting stopped." The next night George, who sleeps in his own room, came out on the sleeping porch when he heard a lot of yelling and racket and said, "If you boys want to fight go over in the gym. Now pick all those feathers up off the floor and in the morning I want you to make up the beds yourselves so Mrs. White won't get mad and quit." There never were any more pillow fights.

**Steve**-athletic manager:

Steve was appointed athletic manager by George because of his all-round ability in sports and his knowledge of the intramural system at O.U. Steve has often refereed intramural contests for the O.U. intramural dept. and knows all the rules of the various sports. He was to be responsible for getting the boys to participate in all intramural contests but was not too successful. In athletics at times the activities are suggested by Steve to George and then George follows Steve's advice and calls the group together and suggests it to them and they nearly always agree unanimously. But when Steve calls the group together and suggests something to them the idea doesn't go through. Many would have to study for a test, or they had a date or had to write a letter or had a sore leg. For instance, Steve announced one day at noon, "We will have baseball practice at 3 o'clock and I would like to see everybody out." At 3 o'clock 4 players showed up for practice so it had

to be called off. That night Steve asked, "Where were you guys for practice this afternoon? What about you, Dan? You're supposed to be the 1st baseman." Dan replied, "Oh, I met Jane over in the Union and she made me buy her a coke." Other excuses were: Earl: "I figured you already had a team so there wasn't any need of me going out." John: "I threw a kink in my arm yesterday and didn't feel like throwing." It was obvious that most of the boys were making up excuses and since we had an important game coming up, something had to be done to get the boys out for practice. Later that night I was in George's room when Steve came in and told George, "I won't be here for dinner tomorrow since I have to go to the City and I would like to have you announce a baseball practice for tomorrow afternoon." The next day George said, "Fellows, we have a baseball game with the Phi Delts Monday and I'd like to see the whole house out for practice this afternoon because we really want to beat those boys." That afternoon 16 players were there for practice and 15 of the boys who didn't play came out to watch, which was a plenty good turnout for a baseball practice.

#### **Gary-song leader:**

Gary was appointed song leader by George. He was in the O.U. Glee Club and an excellent singer but that's as far as his abilities went. He was commonly regarded as the "sissy" of the house and his opinions were seldom respected. Because of this fact, the boys hesitated to come down to song practices when he called them and even when they did their interest in the songs was low. He had an abundance of musical knowledge but was often laughed at when he tried to illustrate the way a song should be sung because of his sissified manners. On one occasion Gary said, "Now in this song you breathe every time I move my hand like this and at no other time. Now let's try it again and see if you can't put your heart into it." Everybody gave a big sigh and when they sang some would deliberately breathe at the wrong time and put exaggerated feeling into their singing. After 2 or 3 practices of this sort had been conducted, we were getting worse all the time. Gary said to George one day at dinner, "We are supposed to go on our serenade in 2 weeks and we sure aren't prepared for it. I think we should start having song practice every other night." George called for attention and said, "We will have song practice tonight at 10:30 and I want all of you to brush up on your words before you come down so we can run through all the songs." The majority of the boys were down for song

practice but Gary was unable to get them as interested as they should be to sing the songs properly and he told George that he couldn't get enough cooperation from the boys. George then said to the group, "Let's try the Alpha Alpha song again and I'll try leading you this time. Be sure and watch my hand for the cut offs." The boys took a little more interest and as George led more songs, the interest mounted and a lot was accomplished at the practice. George asked Gary how each song should be sung and then explained it to the group and everything went off fine.

#### **Charles-scholarship chairman:**

Charles was appointed scholarship chairman by George. Charles was very studious and made good grades and was far enough advanced to help the pledges to study. Charles suggested, "Let's let the pledges study in their rooms and I'll go around every so often and check up on them." George said, "Okay," and Charles made the announcement at dinner that night. This plan failed to work because members were always bothering the pledges and Charles could not get the members to stay quiet or leave the house if they weren't going to study. Charles asked that George say something to the members so the next day George called a members' meeting and said, "Fellows, as you know, we have to have a certain average in the house to keep our social privileges and in the past it has been the pledges who have made the grades for the house. At present, the pledges aren't doing so good because you have "bull sessions" in their rooms and are always running around in the halls. I would like for you to start doing a little studying yourself and if you don't have anything to study, go to a show or something and leave the pledges alone." That night the house was quiet as a tomb and the pledges' grades began coming up in the following weeks.

#### **Mrs. Brown-cook:**

Mrs. Brown is the cook and has been with the house for 7 years. She has working for her a kitchen crew made up of 6 boys who get a reduction in their house bill for working in the kitchen. She plans all the meals and when she thinks the kitchen crew isn't doing its work right, that the kitchen needs repairs or there is some trouble in the planning of the meals, she speaks to George. On one occasion, she said to George, "The kitchen boys have been eating more than their share of the food and then the rest of you have not been able to have enough and I wish you would speak to them about it." George

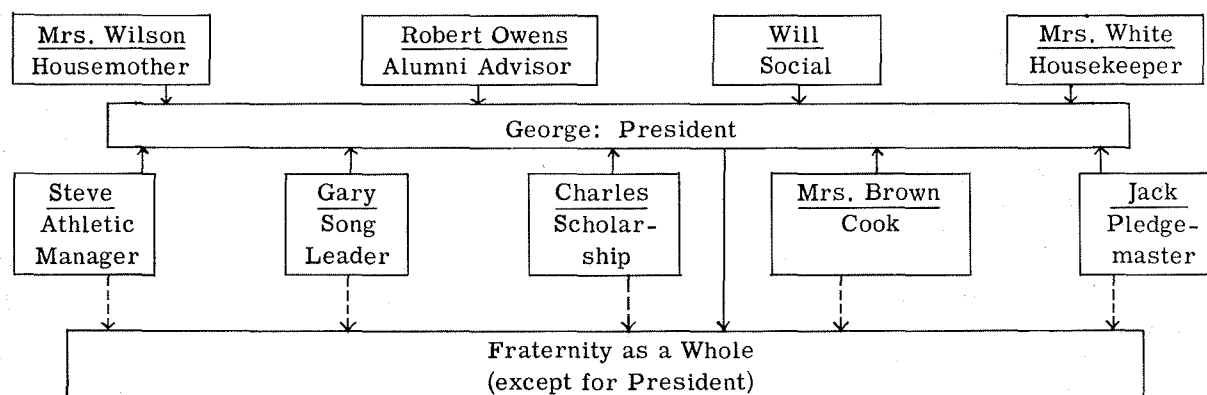
then told the kitchen boys, "From now on you will serve us first and then you can eat." There was no more trouble in this respect. On another occasion, the boys were hollering and making a lot of racket in the kitchen while there were guests for dinner in the dining room. Mrs. Brown asked them to be quiet but it didn't do much good so she spoke to George about it. George told the boys, "I don't mind you fellows cutting up back here when we don't have guests over for dinner but on guest night I want you to keep quiet so that we will make a good impression on the guests." The next week on guest night everything was quiet and orderly.

#### Jack-pledgemaster:

Jack was appointed pledgemaster because he had a lot of time off to check up on the pledge duties and see that they were done properly and also because he took an interest in the appearance of the house. He explained to them what was expected of them, such as cleaning rooms, waxing floors, mowing the lawn, carrying matches and cleaning the whole house (waxing the floors, polishing silverware and cleaning out the basement) every two weeks. He

next pledge meeting George said, "I know you boys hate to work when you know you are going into the army soon but the house has to be kept clean and I would like a little cooperation from you pledges. Not all of you have been laying down on the job, consequently some of you are doing all the work while the rest just lay around. I expect the ones of you who have been doing all the work to hop on the lazy ones and get them to do their share." The pledges did their duties well till initiation which was only two weeks off.

Since it is necessary for the whole fraternity to cooperate to get anything done, the problem had to be remedied. Upon observing that when anything originated by any of the leaders except the president was unsuccessfully carried out by the group unless presented to them by the president, I suggested to the president that he call a meeting of the athletic manager, song leader, scholarship chairman, social chairman, and pledgemaster, and let me explain to them my study and how I thought we could get better cooperation in the fraternity. Since they were all disgusted with the ups and downs the fraternity life had been experiencing, they were willing to try my plan for a while and see what happened. We decided



——— Action which is carried out successfully.

-----Action which is not carried out successfully.

A Diagram of the Leaders of the Fraternity and the Courses Which Action Took.

worked out a demerit system whereby the pledges would be given demerits for failure to perform their duties and they would have to work their demerits off by doing extra duties. Part of the pledges failed to respond and some would not do their duties, and one of them said to Jack, "We'll be going into the army soon so we don't think we ought to have to do the stuff you've told us to." Jack saw that something must be done so he asked George to speak to the pledges about cooperating with each other and doing their duties. At the

that instead of the athletic manager and the other three presenting what they wanted done directly to the group that they would first plan their activities and then inform the president of what they thought best and let him do all the originating of action to the group. Previously the president had been content to let the appointed officers originate for the group since he had appointed the ones he thought most competent in their respective activities. Although he had recognized their ability and had been willing to follow

their suggestions, the majority of the group had not. After about two weeks of the new regime, with the president doing all the origination directly to the group, the spirit of the fraternity picked up remarkably; there was plenty of cooperation and everybody could feel the change in the life of the fraternity.

By these incidents I hope to have shown the reasons for the changes in action which I suggested, and the channels the action must follow to be

successful. The ups and downs in the spirit of the fraternity were explained by the fact that the whole group recognized only one leader, and when he originated action spirit was high, but when one of the other leaders (leaders in the sense that they originated action for George and he relayed it to the group) initiated action to them directly, they did not like to respond, and thus the fraternity would seem to go into a slump.

## THE TAOS COUNTY PROJECT OF NEW MEXICO--AN EXPERIMENT IN LOCAL COOPERATION AMONG BUREAUS, PRIVATE AGENCIES, AND RURAL PEOPLE<sup>1</sup>

By

Charles P. Loomis<sup>2</sup> and Jesse Taylor Reed<sup>3</sup>

It is the premise of this article that the distinctive achievement of the Taos County Project was the attainment of cooperation among governmental bureaus and private agencies in the accomplishment of a common objective, the rehabilitation of a poverty-stricken people. This experiment is important because one of the most important problems of the age is that of harnessing bureaus to the service of the people through procedures which make for high public and agency morale.

### BUREAUCRACY, THE LEITMOTIF OF THE AGE

#### The American Attitude Toward Bureaucracy

Every group and every generation designates evils to be condemned and good things to be lauded. At the present time in the United States bureaus are not thought of as good. Among administrators one does not call a fellow administrator a *bureaucrat* to his face unless he smiles as he does it. Even in this nation where democracy and the common man's rights are worth fighting for, *aristocracy* is a more respected word than *bureaucracy*. A fine auto or magazine might sell well with the name "The Aristocrat" but who would try to sell anything called "The Bureaucrat?"

#### Bureaucracy for Better or Worse is Everywhere

Consciously or unconsciously bureau administrators classify their fellows into two groups--those who look upon a contemplated action as "a job to be done" and those whom they call "bureaucrats." A person of the latter group will use the contemplated action to aggrandize his bureau, which he looks upon as his "kingdom." Usually, but not always, he condemns this attitude in his own underlings, the branch, section, and division heads because it is difficult to have a strong "kingdom" composed of many little "kingdoms." Nevertheless, wherever bureaus exist the unit leaders, with the possible exception of a few likable geniuses or charm specialists, have this attitude or they soon acquire it as a matter of survival. Often organizations, the leaders of which do not have this attitude, are suspected of lacking *esprit de corps* and, when professional disciplines are organized on bureau lines, the attitude is more easily rationalized. After all, why should a soils man, who throughout his college courses was taught that soil science alone could save civilization, ask the assistance of a bureau of plantmen? Seldom would either have any truck with "soft-headed" welfare or social workers. Only after many years of struggle and partly through the fortuitous circum-

<sup>1</sup> A more complete description of the Taos County Project, written by the Junior Author of this article, who was the Project's Director, will be published by the New Mexico University Press under the title, *It Happened in Taos*. Travel expenses of the author incident to the study were covered by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

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